GARARD A A.12.56.
REPLY

ANSWER

To the DEFENCE of

A MICIA,

Daughter of
HUGH CYVELIOK

E ARL of Chester.

Wherein it is Proved,

That the REASONS Alleadged by
Sir Deter Leicester.

In his former Book, and also in his said

Answer, concerning the Illegitimacy
of the said America, are invalid,
and of no weight at all.

By Sir Thomas Bainwaring of Deaver in CHESHIRE, Baronet.

London, Printed for S. Lowndesover against Exeter-House in the Strand. 1673.

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TO

## S, PETER LEICESTER,

BARONET.



He Reasons which you and I have alledged for and against Amicia, being now made publick, all Persons may easily judge, whether, (as you be-

lieve) it was onely the zeal of my opinion touching her Legitimacy, which caused me to endeavor to incline the world to concur with me therein, or that what I said was supported with just Grounds and Reasons; and I doubt not but those of our County that are understanding Persons, will as easily discern from some of your omissions, (although I forbear publickly to take notice of them) that it

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was something else besides your great love to Truth (pretended by your alledging the old Rule of Aristotle,) which occasioned you thus to asperse your deceased Grandmother. But however things are, you have no reason to suspect any animosities betwixt us, I having in my first Book (as I hope I shall also do in this) endeavoured to avoid all expressions, which I did conceive might be offenfive, and I am confident you have no ju't cause to be angry with me, for endeavoring to defend a deceased Grandmother whom I suppose to be very much injur'd by you.

I know not how far your memory may fail you therein, but I am sure I have several times moved you (and particularly came once purposely to you to Tabley) to desire that you would be contented to deliver what you did conceit concerning Amicia, as an uncertainty onely, (as you had done that of Roger, Son of Hugh Cyveliok) and did at all those times assure you that if you would so do, and withal, express that some Judges and Heralds

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ralds were of a different judgement from you, that I would never trouble you or the Reader with any Lines of mine. And the reason why I defired you thus to do, was, because the Reader would certainly conclude Amicia to be a Bastard, though no reasons were alledged, if he saw one who was descended of her, to declare her illegitimate in Print, and did not know that some Learned Men were of a different opinion; but I could not possibly prevail with you herein. And although what you alledge be true, that there is no medium betwixt being a Bastard and Legitimate, but that a Man must absolutely be the one or the other, yet, as to the Writer of an History, the case may be different; for he may be certain, that some, concerning whom he writes, may be Legitimate, and others may be Bastards, and accordingly he ought so to place them; but it is possible there may be some which he is uncertain, whether they be Bastards or not; and in that case the Historian ought to express it doubtfully, and not to take upon him absolutely to determine the point upon uncertain grounds. As

As to your saying in the sourth page of your Answer, in the Margent, that you apprehend not why I call Sir Ralph Mainwaring, Chief Justice of Chester, when in those Ages there was only one Judge at a time there.

My reason wherefore I so did, was because I found that Reginald Gray, who was Judge of Chefter, had taken unto him as an Affociate, Ralph Hegham, in the thirteenth year of King Edward the I.as appears page 172. of your Historical Antiquities : as also, because I found in your faid Book, before the time of Sir Ralph Mainwaring, two Deeds of Randle de Gernoniis, (which seemed to imply, that there had been sometimes more Justices of chester than one at a time,) the one of which as appears, page 128. was directed, Constabulario, Dapifero, Baronibus, JUSTICIARIIS, &c. and the other, as you may fee, page 160. was directed, Episcopo Cestria, Dapifero, Baronibus, JUSTICIA-RIIS, O.c. fo that I hope, I am justifiable herein.

And though it was not usual till after ages, to have two Justices of Chester ze

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ster at one time, and that I have not yet found, that in the time of Ralph Mainwaring, there was any Justice of Chester, but the said Ralph, yet it being possible for the reasons aforesaid, that there might be more than one at a time; I did therefore call the said Ralph, Chief Justice, to shew if there were then two, that he was the chief of them, because he acted as Justice of Chester alone, as will thus appear from a Roll of antient Charts, called Doomesday, remaining in the Castle of Chester, amongst the Records there.

Lenca quæ fuit nxor Ranulphi de Kingesleigh veniens in pleno Com. Cestriæ coram Radulpho de Mainwaring tunc Justiciario Cestriæ & Baronibus, &c. quiet. clam. Richardo de Kingesleigh totam villam de Bertherton unde dotata fuit.

And whereas you pretend page 4 and 5. of your Answer, (which is the onely example which you bring to prove what you there alledge) that Geffrey de Dutton, who made the Original Deed of Nether-Tabley had this B 4 word

word Domino, sometimes prefixed to his Name, when he was a Witness, and yet was no Knight; and thence would inferre, that the word Dominus is no sure rule, to be always understood of a Knight. I shall before I give an answer unto what you say, transcribe the said Deed out of your Historical Antiquities, as I find it in the 355 page of your said Book.

Sciant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Galfridus de Dutton dedi & concessi & hac præsenti Charta mea confirmavi Margaretæ filiæ meæ, pro homagio & servitio suo totam villam meam, que vocatur Parva-Tabley, fine ullo retenemen-to, cum Homagiis & Servitiis, cumVillenagiis, cum Boscis, cum Planis, cum Pratis, & Pascuis, cum Moris & Mariscis, cum Aquis & Molendinis, cum Viss & Semitis, cum omnibus locis predicte Villa pertinentibus : Tenendam O. habendam sibi Margareta, & Haredibus suis, de me Galfrido, & Hæredibus meis, libere quiete, & pacifice, cum omnibus libertatibus, & Aysiamentis prædictæ villæ pertinentibus: Faciendo inde mihi forinfecum servitium, quantum pertinet ad duas

duas Bovatas terra, unde triginta Bovata Terra faciunt Feodum unius Militis,
& faciendo servitium de Hauthoner
quantum pertinet ad pradictam villam,
pro omni seculari servitio, consuetudine, &
demanda, mihi & Haredibus meis pertinente. Et ego Galfridus & Haredes mei pradictam villam, ut pradictum est, pradicta
Margareta & hared. suis, contra omnes homines & faminus in perpetuum warrantizabimus. Et ad majorem hujus rei securitatem buic prasenti scripto Sigillum apposui
meum. Hiis Testibus, Domino Thoma de
Dutton, Domino Galfrido de Dutton, Hugone de Lymme, Thoma fratre ejus, Ricardo de Aston, Rogero de Tost, Willielmo
de Waleton, & multis aliis.

Now this Geffrey de Dutton, being that person who did give Little-Tabley, (now called Nether-Tabley, and the principal Seat of your Family) unto Margaret his Daughter and Heir, who first was married to Robert de Denbigh, and afterwards to Sir Nicholas Leicester, and so brought Nether-Tabley unto the Leicesters; A Man would think that you should be very well acquainted with all the Deeds that the said Gesfrey made, which are in your custody, and

yet I doubt not but to make it appear, that you have run into feveral very gross errors, concerning that Geffrey de Dutton, who made the faid Deed; For first, page 4 and 5. of your Anfwer, you tell us (which is but your own fancy) that the word Dominus was applied to the better fort of Gentlemen in those ages who were no Knights, and that in those elder Ages it was sometimes prefixed, and oftner omitted even to the same Men; as Domino Galfrido de Dutton, who in the Original Chart of Nether-Tabley writes himself only-Ego Galfridus de Dutton dedi, &c. and several other Deeds you have seen of the same person (who you say was lineal Ancestor to Warburton of Arley) wherein you dare affirm among the Witnesses subscribed, he hath five times and more the word Dominus omitted, for once that we find it prefixed to his name; and you are very confident, was not in him, as many others also, to be construed any more then Master Geffrey Dutton, and that he was no Knight;

To answer which, I shall thus far agree with you, That Ibelieve the said Geffrey

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Geffrey Dutton (Son of Geffrey, Son of Adam) who made the faid Deed of Little or Nether Tabley was no Knight, But I cannot imagine how it is possible that the faid Geffrey de Dutton to that or any other Deeds of his own. could have his Name either with the word domine, or without, either five times for once, or at all, amongst the witnesses subscribed, unless you fancy, that he was a Witness to his own Deeds, which is as gross a thing as I have known; But besides this, you run into another errour, and when you do indeed find the word dominus prefixed to the name of Geffrey de Dutton as a Witness to other Mens Deeds, you will needs have that Dominus Galfridus de Dutton to be him, who made the faid Deed of Nether Tabley, whereas it was not he, but his Father, as I shall presently make very manifest; For it is clear that you have feen no deed made by any Geffrey de Dutton, in which the word dominus is used by the party himself, because, you tell us p. 5 6. (but erroneoully also, as will anon appear) that the word dominus is never used in old Deeds by the party himself, but

but where it is joyned with another word, as Ego Willielmus Manwaring Dominus de Pever, Ego Robertus dominus Moaldie; and also, p. 5. you onely speak of his Name being subscribed as a Witness, so that all the Proof which you have of a Dominus Galfridus de Dutton is from his being called fo by other perfons in other Mens Deeds: Now, it appearing in your Historical Antiquities, page 250, that Hugh de Dutton, Son of Hugh, Son of Hodard, had a second Son named Adam de Dutton, ( from whom you fay the Warburtons of Arley are descended) and the said Adam de Dutton as appears in your faid Book, page 384. having iffue a Son owned by you to be Sir Geffrey Dutton, which Sir Geffrey, as you confess, page 354 & 355. had iffue Geffrey Dutton, who made the faid Deed of Tabley, the faid Sir Geffrey Dutton the Father being then living, and a Witness to the said Deed, you when you find a Dominus Galfridus de Dutton to be a Witness to any Deed, will not own it (as you ought to do) to be Sir Geffrey Dutton Son of Adam, who indeed was a Knight, but you will have it to be Geffrey Dutton the

the Grandson of Adam, who was no Knight; But though perhaps you may by such devises as these, impose upon some filly Readers, yet certainly no intelligent person will believe what

you fay concerning the fame.

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Also, I might here ask you, whether the word Dominus when it is prefixed to the name of a person, who is not a Clergyman, doth prove him certainly to be a Knight, or not? If it do, Why will not you call every Layman a Knight, that hath it so prefixed ? and if it do not, Why do you in your Historical Antiquities, p. 330. & 332. own Sir Thomas Mainwaring of Warmincham, upon the like proof, to be a Knight? And Why (as appears in the 8 Page of your Answer to my Defence of Amicia) did you fully intend to have called Ralph Mainwaring, Roger Mainwaring and William Mainwaring, all Knights, but that you know not by what fate it was forgotten? And, Why do you all along in your later Book acknowledge them to be Knights?

And whereas you say, p. 5 & 6. that, the word Dominus is never nfed in old Deeds, by the party himself, but when it is

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joyned with another word, as Ego Willielmus Mainwaring Dominus de Pever, Ego Robertus Dominus Moaldia, but is only used when the party is subscribed as a witness; Though that be true for the most part, yet it doth not alwayes hold, as will appear by two Deeds of Sir Thomas Mainwarings of Warmincham, which I have by me, sealed with two Barres in Green-wax, written about thus, S. Tome le Maynwarig; which Deeds you have feen, and are as followeth;

Sciant præsentes & futuri quod ego Dominus Thomas de Menylgaring dedi concessi & hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi Hamoni filio Johannis de Bruerio pro homagio & fervitio suo quinque acras terra in Villa de Cogishull, illas, scilicet, quas de me prins tenuit ad terminum, cum aumento perficiendi quinque acras integras sine impedimento, & sicut sepe fof-sato metis & bundis circueuntur & continentur, & cum omnibus alis pertinentiis suis, & pro tribus marcis & dimid. argenti, quas mihi dedit pramanibus: Habendum & tenendum de dicto Domino Thoma & haredibus suis, dicto Hamoni & haredibus suis & affignatis,

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natis, libere, quiete, integre, hæreditarie, imperpetuum, in bosco, in plano, in pratis, in pascuis, in viis, in semitis, in aquis, in moris, in omnibus communibus, & asyamentis Villæ de Cokishull ubique pertinentibus: Reddendo inde annuatim dicto Domino Chome & haredibus suis duos solidos & sex denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet, ad Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ quindecem denarios, & ad festum Sancti Martini in yeme quindecem denarios pro omni servitio seculari, exactione & demanda mihi & hæredibus meis pertinentibus: Et ego vero dittus Dominus Thomas & haredes mei dico Hamoni o haredibus suis & assignatis totas pradict as quinque acras terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis sicut prænotatum est contra omnes homines & fæminas warantizabimus & defendemus imperpetuum.In bujus rei testimonium buic præsenti cartæ figillum meum apposui , Hiis Testibus , Hugone de Duram, Willielmo Bernard tunc Seneschallo domini Thomæ de Menylgaring, Richardo Starkye, Roberto de Wynninton, Ranulpho de Berthorton, Thoma de Queloc, Johanne de Merbury, Rogero clerico, & aliis. Sciant

Sciant prasentes & futuri quod ego Dominus Thomas de Menylgaring dedi concessi & bac presenti carta mea confirmavi Roberto de Bexeckne pro homagio & servitio totam illam terram quam mercatus fuit de Hugone de Berdeney sient sepe & fossato circuitur & includitur & metis & bundis continetur cum omnibus pertinentiis suis: Habendum & tenendum de me & bæredibus meis & assignatis dicto Roberto & heredibus suis & assignatis, libere, quiete, integre, hareditarie, in pace, bene, in bosco, in plano, in aquis, in viis, in semitis, in pratis, in pasturis, cum housbold & haybold, & tacfre, de omnibus propriis porcis suis infra omnes metas de Cokishull, & cum omnibus aliis communibus & esyamentis pradicta villa spe-Cantibus: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & haredibus meis & meis assignatis quindecem denarios argenti ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad nativitatem Santti Johannis Baptistæ septem denarios & obolum & ad festum sandi Martini in yeme septem denarios & obolum pro omnibus servitiis secularibus exactionibus & demandis prædictæ terræ pertinentibus,

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tinentibus: Et ego vero Dominus Chamas de Menilgaring & haredes mei & assignati mei dicto Roberto & haredibus suis & assignatis totam pradictam terram sicut sepe & fossato circuitur & includitur, & sicut pronotatum est contra omnes homines & faminas imperpetuum warrantizabimus & defendemus: Pro hac autem donatione concessione & cartæ meæ confirmatione dedit mihi diclus Robertus quatuor solidos argenti præmanibus: In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti cartæ sigillum meum apposui: Hirs testibus, Richardo Startey, Willielmo Bernard tune Seneschallo Domini Thomæ de Menilgaring, Johanne de Merbury , Hugone de cadem , Hugone filio Hamonis de Comberbach , Ad. de Acton, Roberto de Burmys, Rogero Clerico, & aliis.

And as to what you say, page 8. of your Answer, that as the word Sir, is in common discourse applicable to persons of quality from the highest to the lewest in its larger notion, so Dominus is applicable to any Knight or Gentleman, as if you should say, Domine queso, num how verum est quod dico, necne ?

I grant it to be true, but then as you observe, the word sir, or the word Dominus must onely so be taken in its larger notion, but that is so far from weakening what I say, that it doth confirm it; For though if I speak to one whose name is Peter, that is but a Gentleman, I may properly use the word sir to him, yet I cannot properly joyn the word sir to his name, and call him sir Peter, unless the said person be either a Baronet or a Knight, and that is the case in these old Deeds, where the word Dominus is prefixed to the names of the said Knights.

Also, if the word Dominus do only fignify Master, (as you would have it) What is the reason, that in some Deeds it is only put before the names of some of the witnesses, and not before the names of others? although those other persons to whose names it is not put, many times are Lords of several Mannors, and persons of very great Estate.

As to what you alledge, page 6. of your strower to my defence of Amicia, that

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that in the 27 page of my faid Defence, Radulfus de Meidnilwaring after his Daughter Bertrey was marriageable is there named without his Title of Dominus ; You your felf have answered that a little before, by confessing (though the word Domino is usually fet to the name of fuch a person when he is named a witness) that the word Dominus is never used by the party himself, but where it is joyned with another word, as Ego Willielmus Mainwaring Dominus de Peover, Ego Rogerus Dominus Moaldie, which though for the most part it be very true, yet I have shewed that it doth not ever hold; But instead of observing that you had given a full answer to this objection of your own, you strangely fancy, that I would possibly say, that that Deed was made before the faid Ralph was Justice of Chester; whereas in the 74 page of my faid Book, I had told you, that the faid Deed was so far from being made before the faid Ralph was Justice of Chester, that it was made after he had parted with the faid Office; And thus you became guilty of a double levity, first, in making an objecti-B 2 on,

on, which you your felf had answered but in the preceding page, and then in framing an answer thereto for me, directly contrary to what I had formerly faid.

And whereas you fay, page 8. that

you had rather give to any, especially to my Family, more then is due, then less; I could wish I had just cause to be of that opinion; For I am fure you have omitted in our Descent, not only Ranulfus, who is nominated in Doomesday Book, but also Richard Mesnilwaren mentioned in your Historical Antiquities, Roger de Menilgarin, and \* William and Randle his \* Note. That page. 17. of your Hi- Sons, spoken of by you ftorical Antiqui. page 341. Roger de Meties, you bave planilgarin or Mainwaring, eed Randle before William, contrary named by you page 362.

\* page . 111 .

by you pa. 330. and this 984. upon a pretence, that they were Lords of Warmincham, whereas I am confident you will not deny but that the Mainwarings of Warmincham were also

Sir Ralph Mainwaring and

Sir Roger Mainwaring his

Son, both taken notice of

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owners of Over-Peover or the most part thereof, until Sir Roger Mainwaring gave Peover to his younger Son Sir William Mainwaring, and it was not long after, that the Mainwarings of Peover became Heirs male to those Mainwarings of Warmincham, Sir Warine Mainwaring, Son of Sir Thomas, Son of the said Sir Roger, dying without issue Male; Also I am sure you denyed to dous right in one other particular, when you did it in the like case for another Family, which had not so clear proof for it as mine had.

As for your new quarrel, (page 9 of your Answer) with the Herald, for giving to Sir Randle Mainwaring my great Grandfather fix Barrulets, as his most proper Coat, whereas you say, ever since the time of Sir Roger Mainwaring, aswell the Heirs of the right Line. as also the Mainwarings of Peover (after they became next Heirs Male) have constantly born the two barres, for some hundreds of years; I might reply and tell you, that the Mainwarings, of Peover have not constantly given, Argent, two Barres Gules, since they became Heirs Male to the Mainwarings of Warmin-

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cham, as appears by my Deeds; Nei-ther do I think that Mr. Cambden did look upon the Six Barrulets, as a Coat most peculiar to us; for, in his Britannia in his Description of the County of Chefter, he names the two Barres as the Coat most proper to our Family, as appears by these words of his, when he writes of Astbury Church, viz. Hac enim perpulchra est, cujus porticus Occidentalis ipsam Ecclesiam, que sane alta, sua altitudine adaquat, & pyramidem adjunctam habet. In cameterio dua jacent sepulchrales Militum effigies, in quorum scutis sunt due directe arcolæ sive Barre. Verum cum coloribus suis destituantur non facile quis dixerit fuerintne ex Breretonis, Mainwaringis, vel de Venables, que clarissime sunt in vicinia familie, & ejusmodi Barras variantibus coloribus gentilitiis in clypeis gestant.

I rather think that my Great Grandfather having a Fancy to that Coat of Six Barrulets more than to that of the two Barres, because the most antient of our Deeds were sealed therewith, that Mr. Cambden gave him liberty to bear either the one or the other, which I a

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fee not but it might be done, being our Family had for feveral generations usually born the one, and the other had been born by our Ancestor, and hadnever been used by any other Family, and I am fure, though you be fo captious with us, that you your felf have of late years given a different Crest, from what had for a long time been born by your Predecessors, because you found a more antient Crest in some of your Seals: And whereas you instance in the great Suit, betwixt Scroop and Grosvenour in the Marshals Court, under Richard the II. concerning the bearing of a Coat of Arms, whereto both challenged a right and prepriety by usage, but no other way; You thence rightly infer, that usage makes a right in fich cases; but when you say, that usage only makes a right; you are mistaken therein, For (not to mention the case in hand, where a mans Ancestor hath born a Coat, which for fometime hath been laid aside, but never taken up by any other Family ) a Man could then have no right to a Coat, which was given him by a King of Arms.

I am still of opinion, that you have branded several persons in your Book with Bastardy, without any proof thereof, but shall not yet concern my felf for any (befides my own Anceftor) except such as you give me just occasion to take notice of; And as for Geva and Richard Bacun's Mother, the first of them is not yet by you proved to be a Bastard, and I shall certainly hereafter make it appear, that the fecond was no Daughter of Hugh Cyveliok, To that Amicia is like to receive no blow at all; And if they were both Bastards, it would be no prejudice to Amieia, because I have in my former Book fully proved, that the gift to Geva was not a Gift in Free-Marriage, (as that to Amicia was) and you do not pretend at all, that any fuch gift was made to the Mother of Richard Racun.

And whereas you tell me you believe that Geva and the wife of Bacun had never been spoken of, nor suspected, nor doubted of by me, had not the case of Amicia been concerned lean assure you Ishould k

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I should have been of the same opinion concerning them, if you had never mentioned Amicia; but if you had not pretended from their Cases, to raife some Arguments against the said Amicia, I should never have troubled my felf about them, and therefore ! forbear to tell you of all miltakes, except fuch as the case in hand doth give me just occasion to observe. And whereas you fay, page 12, that you think you shall make good what you have alledged, with as much certainty as the nature of the thing and times will admit. And also page 27, that Geva was certainly a Bastard, by as good proof us can posibly be expected in Such a case; You do thereby implicitely confess, that you do not make those things appear with any certainty at all.

I have now done with what you have faid concerning my Epiftle, and shall now proceed to consider of your Answer to the Book it self; and because you do in several places, again say, what you have said heretofore, I hope the Reader will excuse me, if I be constrained sometimes to repeat the same things

things, which I also have formerly

In the 14 and 15 pages, you do tell me that I faid I would remind you of that which you had formerly been told, viz. Who those Heralds were that gave to Mainwaring of Peover the quartering of the Earl of Chester's Coat, in Queen Elisabeth's time, and withal do fay, that I never told you, till long time after that part of your Book was written, which, perhaps may be true, because that part of your Book was written very long fince, viz. in the year 1647. but I am fure I have often told you of them, and you have also often seen the Pedigree it self, under the hands of Mr. Cambden, and Mr. Sampson Erdeswick; the rest in that place is only the repeating of your former quarrel with them, for fuffering us to quarter the Earl of Chefter's Coat, but if we can really prove, that we are of the Half Blood, whatever you conceive of it, Isuppose all indifferent persons will think it but meet, that we should have the like liberty that all others have in the like case, in these last ages of ours. What

What you fay in the 16 and 17 pages, hath been some of it formerly said in your Historical Antiquities, and also in the 15 page of this your Answer, and there is nothing there that is new, but that you only alledge, that as to my note of Dukes and Earls to have been antiently Judges of Chester, I should have distinguished the times, for that was not till the Reign of Richard the II. (who made Deputies to act in their stead ) before which time there were no such great persons Judges there, nor from Henry the Sevenths time downwards; But what necessity there was for me particularly to distinguish the times in which those great Dukes and Earls were Judges of Chefter, I do not know; For Ionly instanced in that to shew, that the place of Judge of Chester was antiently a place of great repute, and though it was some time after the death of John Scot, before any fuch great persons were made Judges of Chefter, by the Kings of England, and that in all the times of the Earls of Chefter, before that Earldom was united to the Crown, there could not be any Dukes or Earls made Judges

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Judges there, because there were no such persons belonging to the then Earls, (except John Lacy Constable of Chester, who was not made Earl of Lincoln, as appears in your Historical Antiquities page 270. till the 23 of November 1232. Which was but four years and upwards before the death of John Scot the last of the said Earls) yet there were ever antiently persons of good quality that were Judges of Chester, and if it had not been always a place of great repute, the Kings of England would never have made such very great persons to have succeeded them therein.

As to what you alledge in the 18, 19, 20, and 21 pages of your Answer, I do not doubt (though you affirm it can never be proved) but that I have already in my former Book, given most persons satisfaction, that Amicia was of the Half-Blood to Earl Randle, by a former wife of Earl Hugh; And whereas you object, that it is more rational to imagine, that Earl Hugh matching his only Daughter, which he had by a former Wife, would have married her to as considerable a person as was either provided

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vided by himself, or his son for his young er Children by a second venter; I do anfwer and fay, That I am not certain whether Amicia was the only Daughter that Earl Hugh had by his former Wife; because, I know some that pretend they can tell of fome other Daughter or Daughters which the faid Earl Hugh had by his faid Wife; but I do confess, I have never seen just proof of any but her; but supposing her to be the only Child by his first Wife; I have in my former Book, pa. 23, 24, and 25. shewed that there is no strength in this Argument of yours; And I may here further add, that if you will fearch for examples, you may find very many, where the elder Sisters, sometimes, because swayed by their affections, and sometimes for other reasons, have not been married to fo great persons as the younger Sisters have been; neither can you tell what portions Earl Hugh gave to Amicia, or to any of his other Daughters: neither is there any necessity that the elder Sister, because by a former wife, must have as great a portion as a younger Sister by a latter

latter Wife; because, many times perfons are not able to give fo great portions in their younger days, as afterwards: and because, the Children of the living Wife are oftentimes better provided for, than those of the dead Wife; and of this, I could if I pleafed, instance in some that I know; and in case the Father dye, and leave onely issue Female by a first, , and a Son and iffue Female by a latter wife (as in this case) there is great likelihood (besides the advantage that the Sisters by the latter wife would have by being Heirs at Law to their Brother, he dying without issue) that the Brother will naturally be more kind to those Sifters that are of the Whole-Blood, and about the same age, and bred up with him, than he will be to her that is but his Half-Sifter, and much older then himself.

And whereas you say, pa 18, and 19. that the expectation of Earl Randle Blundevile's sisters of the Whole Blood (which I conceive added to their fortunes, whereby they matched to so great persons) could not be much, being grounded upon great uncer-

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uncertainties, since it could not be fore-Seen (when they married) that their Brother should dye without iffue, who afterwards married two wives successively, purposely to have iffue of his own Body. to inherit his own Lands; I do think if you consider it, you cannot in good earnest believe, that the said Earl Randle Blundevil's four Sisters were married before the faid Earl married his first wife, whatever they were when he married his second wife; For, Bertred the Mother of Randle Blundevil being aged but twenty four years when her Husband Earl Hugh died, as appears, Rot, de Dominabus pueris, &c: in Scace. penes remem. R. Sub Tit. Linc. Rot. 1. and the faid Randle, as appears in your Historical Antiquities, page 146. being married to Constance the Widow of Geffrey, fourth Son of King Henry the 11, and Daughter and Heir of Conan Duke of little Brittain, and Earl of Richmond, in the year 1187, at which time the faid Bertred was but about Thirty years old; Can any one think that all the five Children of the said Bertred were then married?

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And whereas you say, that it was I who informed you of the three eminent Judges, and four Heralds that were of opinion, that Amicia was Legitimate: If your meaning be, that I was the only person who informed you thereof, I must impute it to the weakness of your memory, which fails you in this particular; For, you had many times feen our Pedigree, attested by Mr. Cambden and Mr. Sampson Erdeswick, who did allow her to be a Legitimate Daughter, and several years since, two other Heralds, who are yet living, at Chester did declare to you in my hearing, that she could not be a Bastard, and the one of them then named to you a Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England (both now deceased) who did concur with them therein, and you have also seen an opinion of a Third, Judge under his Hand, together, with Reasons for the same, and though you speak so slightly of the opinions of Jadges and Heralds, in comparing them to Hands got to a Petition or Certificate, and pretend it was without hearing the Reasons on the other side; I very well know (though it seems you have forgotten it) that that hand which was obtained, was procured, because you seemed to desire to know his opinion in the case; And I also know that those two Heralds, who at Chester did declare their judgements against you, did then hear all the reasons that you could then alledge.

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As to what you fay, pa. 22, 23,24, 25, 26, and part of the 27, in all which you would willingly prove, that the Common-Law is now altered fome other way than by Statute, you do but lose your labor, and can never prove the same; For, in that Maxime of the Law, where it is faid, That what soever was at the Common-Law, and is not ousted or taken away by any Statute, remaineth still; the words ousted or taken away, must needs be taken conjunctively, and must necessar:ly bear this sence, that the Common-Law still is the same in all points, as it was before, except where taken away by Statute; and if thosewords should be taken otherwise, then, the meaning would

would be this, that that part of the Common-Law which doth remain, doth remain, which would be a very frange Maxime; And whereas you heretofore urged some places, to prove, that the Common-Law is alter'd at this day from what it was in former ages, long after the time of King Henry the II. which you now also urge again in the 24 page of your latter Book; I must give you the fame answer which I formerly did, viz. That those places do not prove that the Common-Law at this day doth vary from what it was in former ages, in any particular, but onely that it was taken to be otherways in those days, and that it was but just like some Cases in our Reports, which have at feveral times been adjudged directly contrary to each other; but notwithstanding that, the Common-Law was still the same; And that I might come as near you as I could; I did then acknowledge that though the Common-Law was ever the fame, where not alter'd by Parliament: yet in former ages, they did in some particulars, take the Law to be otherways than they now do; And I did also acknow-

knowledge, that if you could prove, that they had done so formerly in this case of Frank-Marriage, that it would have taken off much of the strength of my Argument from the words in libero Maritagio, because, that antient Deeds and Grants (according to what my Lord Coke on Littleton fays, fol 8. b. at the bottom) are to be expounded as the Law was taken to be at the time of the Grant: Now these places which you alledge, do not prove a change of the Common-Law, in any particular, other than by Statute, but only that the Law was fometimes differently taken in one Age, from what it was in another Age; for in your 24 page, where you cite Coke upon Littleton, fol. 34. Sect. 39. you do not there fay, that my Lord Coke's words were, That the Law was different in Glanvile's time in the particular you there mention, from what it is now; but you fay, that he faith that in antient times, as it appears by Glanvile, lib. 6. cap. i. it was taken (that is, the Law was taken) that a Man could not have endowed his Wife, ad Oftium Ecclesia, of more than a third part, but of less C 2 be

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ays acbe might: but at this day the Law is taken, (as Littleton holdeth , which is) That a Man may Endow his Wife ad Oftium Ecclesiæ of his whole Land, or of the balf, or other less part, which is the very same thing that I said; And where you again cite Coke upon Littleton, fol. 8.a. towards the bottom, you bring him in, faying, that of antient time the Heir was permitted to have an action of Debt upon a Bond made to his Anceftor and his Heir, but the Law is not fo at this day; but my Lord Coke doth not fay as you do, viz, That the Law is not foat this day, but that the Law is not fo holden at this day; fo that he still avoids the expression of the Law being changed. (otherways than by Statute) although it was differently holden in feveral Ages; And thus, as you may fee Coke upon Littleton, fol. 21. b. in the Case of Piers de Saltmars and others, it was judged in King Edward the Thirds time, and in King Edward the Fourths time, That a Man might give Land to his Son in Frankmarriage, but in King Henry the Eighths time, it was holden otherways, the former Books being not remembred 3 But not5)

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notwithstanding, that this point was judged thus differently, the Law was still the same and all that can be said, is, that some of the judges did not judge right, according to the Common-Law; and indeed if this Rule of yours was true, that because the Judges in one Age did take the Common-Law to be otherways, than it was taken in former Ages, that therefore the Common-Law was changed: The Judges then could never do contrary to the Common-Law, For, when they had declared (though erroneoully) that the Common-Law ought to be otherways taken, than it was formerly, the Common-Law by your Rule, would be thereupon changed, and what they did, would ever be legal, The absurdity whereof every one may eafily discern.

What you say page 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31, to all those Reasons which I did give, to shew that whensoever the word Mulier is used in the case of Frankmarriage, it shall by commonintendment be understood of a Woman that is of the Kindred, will, (I believe)

give no knowing person any satisfaction at all; for though you pretend your felf to be very pleasant, when you say you have seldom known ( nor you believe any other) any such question as this, Whether Hugh Cyveliok had a former Wife, to be proved by argument of Scripture, or nicety of Law, which is meerly a question of History, yet certainly the understanding Reader, will eafily perceive that this is but a shift, and will also discern, that I did not bring that place of Scripture to prove that Hugh Cyveliok had a former wife, but that I made use of it by way of anfwer, to take off what you had alledged, and I do not at all doubt, but that Text will fully fatisfy, that all expreffions which feem Universal, are not always to be expounded without any limitation at all 5 but as you would extend that expression of Glanvill too far, so you run to the other extream concerning this of Deuteronomy 14.26. and would restrain these words, or for what soever thy foul desireth, only to those things there mentioned, viz. Oxen, Sheep, Wine, and strong Drink, which would be a Tautologie, and several times

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in the same verse give them liberty to make use of Oxen, Sheep, Wine, or ftrong Drink, whereas undoubtedly the Jews at their faid Fealts had also liberty to eat the Goat the Hart, Roe-Buck, Fallow Deer, Wild Goat, Pigarg, Wild Ox, the Chamois, as also all clean Fowls, Fishes, and other clean meats whatfoever, allowed them by their Law; and therefore this expresfron being as univerfal as that of Glanvill, and yet being to be expounded, fo as to agree with the Laws of that Kingdom, why should not this seeming universal expression of Glanvill be so expounded, as to agree with the Laws of our Kingdom? And if fo, fure what I say is to the point in hand.

Alfo, If this Text of Scripture should be restrained as you would have it, it would not contradict, but confirm what I said; For, what expression can seem more universal than this, viz. what sever thy soul desireth, and yet you confess it ought not to be understood without some limitation, and indeed, you restrain it more than I do.

And though it be true, that Bastards both were and yet are capable of receiving Lands after they have gained a name by reputation, yet they are not capable of having Lands passed with them in libero maritagio, though it be passed with them by the name of Daughter, without the addition of Bastard; and though you pretend that Amicia had gained a name by reputation, yet you do not, nor cannot tell what it is, for certainly Amicia and Daughter are not any reputed names.

Neither do I put my argument about Glanvil's contradicting himself, as you put it, as will appear, pa. 34, and 35. of my former Book, fo that you leave what I there fay, wholly unanswered. Neither do I say, that the Lawyers of latter ages do expound the Law, that Lands cannot pass in Free-marriage with Bastards now, ergo, it was so taken in Glanvil's time; but I have given you many reasons, why the Law was taken in the time of Glanvill, in the point of Free-Marriage, as it is taken now; to which you give no other answer, but that you will leave it to wife Men to judge, who will take the paines

paines to scan them, whether they be pertinent; And I do willingly appeal to all wisemen. whether that be an Answer to those Eight Reasons, for if it be I am much mistaken therein.

But what will you fay, (though I did admit it to be so, because I would put the Case as hard as I could upon my felf) if Glanvil by those words of his, Lib. 7. cap. 1. Quilibet liber homo quandam partem terræ suæ cum filia sua, vel cum aliqua alia qualibet muliere dare potest in Maritagium, sive habuerit hæredem, five non, velit heres vel non, imo & eo contradicente did not say or mean that a man might give lands in Free-marriage with any woman whatfoever, but only that he might give lands with any woman in that kind of Marriage, which was not free; For, if you observe him well, he doth not there fay, that any man whatfoever can give Lands in liberum maritagium with any woman whatsoever, but only that it may be so given with any woman in Maritagium; Now that Maritagium is two-fold, Glanvil himself tells you, Lib. 7. cap. 18. where he fayes, Maritagium autem, alind nominatur

natur liberum, alind fervitio obnoxium; liberum dicitur Maritagium quando aliquis liber homo aliquam partem terræ sue dat cum aliqua muliere alicui in Maritagium ita quod a omni servitio terra illa sit quieta, & a se & hæredibus suis, versus capitalem dominum acquietanda, o in bac quidem libertate, ita stabit terra illa usque ad tertium hæredem nec interim tenebuntur hæredes inde facere aliquod homagium, post tertium vero beredem, ad debitum servitium terra ipsa revertetur, & homagium inde capietur. Many of which words of Glanvil you may also find cited by my Lord Coke on Littleton, fol. 21.b. Now if you well observe it. Glanvil doth not there fay that a man may give Lands in liberum Maritagium cum qualibet muliere, but only in Maritagium; But when he fpeaks of Free-marriage he useth the expression cum aliqua muliere, with fome woman, viz. one of the Kindred so that without doubt he using the same expression with Mr. Bracton who was the next VV riter after him, he also understands it in the like manner, as the other did; But if Mr. Glanvill's expressions (Lib.7. cap. 1.) had concerned Free-

Free-marriage, yet I have formerly shewed, that the word Mulier in that case, could only have been understood of a woman of the Kindred: Also my Lord Coke upon Littleton, fol. 21. b. when he hath told you that one of the four things incident to a Frank-marriage is, that the VVoman or Man that is the cause of the Gift, be of the blood of the Donour, not long after on the Margent of the same Page quotes Glanvil, lib. 7. cap. 1. (the place on which you build) which he would never have done, if that place had been contradictory to his opinion, and certainly, if Glanvills words in that place are to be understood as you would have them, they do contradict what my Lord Coke there fayes, unless the Law in that point was taken after one manner in Glanvil's time, and after another manner in my Lord Coke's time, which if it had been fo, my Lord Coke had been concerned to have taken notice thereof, having no otherway to reconcile it with what he had faid.

What you say, pag. 32 & 33. is not at all to the purpose; For, you there tell us, that Bastard sons, bastard Daughters,

Daughters, bastard Brothers, &c. in all Settlements and Conveyances of these last antient Ages, are termed Bastards, but you say that was never used in the Antient Ages; But, this is only your bare faying, without any proof at all, fo that your word herein will not pass, unless you had shewed us several antient Settlements and Conveyances, in which, bastard Sons, bastard Daughters, bastard Brothers, &c. are named without the word Bastard joyned to them, which I am confident you cannot do, unless when very great persons are named, who by reason of their greatness, are usually excepted in such cases as those; And indeed you do not only want proof to make good what you here fay, but I have formerly brought proof of the contrary, from Sir Henry spelman, who in his Glossary on the word Bastardus, sayes, Quoties enim agitur de honore vel commodo filiorum, appellatione filiorum non comprehenduntur bastardi. And as to what you affirm, that Bastards be of the blood both now and in former ages, though the Law will not allow them so, because they now are esteemed in the eye of the Law quast nullius

nullius filius; For if A. have a Bastard Sonor Daughter, which is really his, they must needs be of his blood: for no Law can extinguish Nature; though by common Law they are not now esteemed fo; There is no force in what you fo fay, Because, in this case Children are looked at, as they are in Law, and not as they are really, because, it cannot be known what they are really; And therefore if A. have a bastard child which is really his, yet it shall not inherit, because it is in Law nullius filius; and on the other fide, If A. have a Wife who doth play false with him, and liath a Child begotten of her body by another man, yet this Child shall inherit, because it is in Law the Child of A. And whereas you also ask the Question, What if you say that the reason why in the Deeds of those elder Ages, they were called Daughters, without any addition of Bastard, whereby the party owned them to be of their blood, was, that the Lands paffed in libero maritagio with such might descend to their heires? For our Lawyers now tell us, that Bastards are capable of receiving Lands, after they have gained a Name by reputation ;

tion; Why may not then Bastards, having gained the names of Daughters, receive a grant from their owned Fathers, either in Frank-marriage or otherwayes?

Your Question will be easily anfwered, because the consideration of the Gift in Free-marriage is the blood that is betwixt the Donour, and that Donee with whom the Land is given; But a Bastard is not de sanguine patris (Dyer, Fol. 374.b.) and the calling of any person Daughter, who is not so in Law, will not make her of the blood, for if that would ferve, a Man might call any other Woman his Daughter, that is not fo, and then give Lands with her in Frank-marriage: Besides, to what purpose should such tricks as these be used, which will not hold, when though a Man cannot give Lands in Free-marriage with his Baflard Daughter, yet there are other wayes, whereby any Man that pleafes and hath a disposing power, may settle Lands on a Baftard Daughter and her heires: Also, if Glanvills words did prove, as you would pretend they do, To what purpose should men in those ages,

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ages, leave the word Baslard out of their Deeds of Free-marriage to their baslard Daughters, with design thereby to cause such lands to continue to them and their heirs, if such gifts might be made with any woman whatsoever; so that you never observe how finely you have argued here, against your self.

VVhere you fay, in the 34, 35, 36 and 37 Pages of your Book, that though you do not find Geva called a Bastard in express terms, yet you find it implyed in an Author contemporary (meaning ordericus) by certain and sure consequence; which you believe can never be fully an-(wered; and for the fortifying of which, you pretend to give some reasons; Give me leave (fince you give the occasion) again to say, what I have formerly faid, viz. that though Ordericus, speaking of Hugh Lupus his death, doth add these words, Richardus antem pulcherrimus puer quem salum ex Ermentrude filia Hugonis de Claramonte genuit. I am not yet latisfied, but that he might as well mean, that he was the only Son which Earl Hugh had

had by Ermentrude, as that he was the only child that he had by her; For there is no necessity to take the word folum adverbially, neither is it marked as an Adverb in Ordericus his Book. though it be so in yours, and yet in his Book, Adverbs are usually marked; And though you alleadg that ordericus doth not say quem solum filium, as I interpret him, but indefinitly, quent folum ex Ermentrude genuit, and fo, whether solum be understood adverbially, or whether it be taken for a Noun, no more can be made of it in English than. thus, Richard a beautiful youth whom only Earl Hugh begot on Ermentrude, &c. and fo, whether we English it whom only he begot, or whom he only begot, it retains the same sense, and shews that no other person, either Son or Daughter, was begotten on Ermentrude by Earl Hugh. You must give me leave to dissent from you herein; For, I conceive this expression of quem solum genuit, doth amount to as much as if he had faid quem solum filium genuit, which if it do, then (notwithstanding the said expresfion) Earl Hugh might possibly have a Daughter or Daughters by the faid Ermentrudes

Ermentrude; For, to what Antecedent can the word quem so properly relate, as to the word puer? and if so, then quem folum puerum is as much as quem folum fllium, and so doth not exclude him from having a Daughter or Daughters by the faid Ermentrude ; For, though the word puer be by some understood to fignifie a Child of either Sex, as you also feem to take it in your Historical Antiquities, p. 113 & 114. (But misprinted 121 & 122.) Yet Mr. Gouldman in his Dictionary will tell you that it is a mistake, where on the word puer he thus writes, Nonnullis habetur communis generis, sed male, ex Ovidiano illo Carmine, de Iphide puella in puerum mutata ;

> Dona puer solvit que feminavoverat Iphis.

And though you say, that Geva could not be by any former Wife, because Earl Hugh had never any other Wife; Yet that is more than either you of I know, for, there were many things done in those Ages which never came to our knowledges. And therefore I do not take

was by a former Wife than Ermentrude, or whether she was by Ermentrude, or whether she was a Bastard, Eut I say, she might be any of the three, for any thing that you have yet proved, and so long as it is uncertain what she was, you can bring no considerable Argument from her against Amieia; And if you could prove her a Bastard, it would signific nothing, because the Deed made to her, is not a gift in Frank-marriage (as hath formerly and will hereaster appear.)

And whereas you ask, p.36. Being I expound the words of Ordericus to be, that Earl Hugh had no other Son, What advantage it is to my purpose, unless Geva mas that Daughter, and was legitimate? I answer, That possibly Geva might be that Daughter, or possibly Geva might be by a former Wise, and that Daughter which Earl Hugh had by Ermentrude, might die before Earl Richard, so that nothing of certainty can be gathered from such Arguments as

thefe.

As to what you say, p. 38, 39, 40 & 41. that I am not to argue upon possibilities.

lities, and because it might possibly be So, to fay, that the Earldome of Chester was antiently entayled on the heires Males; I Answer, That Ido not positively aver any fuch thing, Butlet the case be how it will, and whetherfoever Geva or Randle de Meschines was the heir general to Richard Earl of Chefter, it feems to me that the faid Earldome, did not come by descent, to the heir general, whoever that was; For, it clearly appears that Geva had it not, and Randle de Meschines had it not by descent; For, if what James York in his Union of Honour, p. 105. sayes, be true, Randle de Meschines was made Earl by Grant of King Henry the First; and Ordericus p. 876. tells us, that he restored to the faid King Henry, all the Land which he had by his Wife the Widow of Roger de Romara, for the Earldom of Chester; which was more than was needful for him to do, if he had a good title thereto by descent.

And whereas you ask me, Why may I think that the King (though he gave it to Randle) did not give the honour and lands unto him, as in whom was the great-

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est right to have it? and do fay, that to this I give no answer at all. I may well tell you, that I could not give an Answer, until you did ask Question, and you never asked the Question in your former Book; But the Answer which Ishall now give to this Question, is, That I suppose, Kings in such cases do that, which to them seems most just, but yet Kings in these cases, as well as in others, are of different Judgments from one another very many times, and indeed the very same Princes will be sometimes of one mind, and sometimes of another mind, concerning the same thing; And thus we fee, when Randle Blundewile Earl of Chefter dyed, which was in the year 1232. King Henry the Third did fuffer the four Sifters of the faid Earl Randle, who were of the whole blood, to inherit that estate, and the said Earldome went to John Scot fon of David Earl of Huntingdon in right of Mand his Mother, the eldest of the said four Sifters; But when the faid John Scot dved, which was in the year 1237, the faid King Henry the Third would not suffer the said Earldome of Chester to come Sisters of the said John scot, though he had before permitted it to come to the Son of the eldest Sister of the said Randle Blundevile.

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And whereas you fay, that if Geva had been but of the half-blood, she would by all probability have bussed hard for so great an Estate in those Ages, before she had lost it. I do wonder very much at what you fay, Because, any Cosen that is of the whole blood (how many degrees soever the distance is) will inherit at Law, before a Brother or Sister that is but of the half-blood; And whereas you fay, I am come to an excellent way of arguing, by ifs, and ands, and possibilities, by which means Answers may be made to any thing even to eternity. do not offer from those kinds of Arguments or Answers, to determine any thing certainly, but only make use of them to flew the uncertainty of feveral things which you urge; But, you pretend certainties from fuch kind of Arguments, and particularly in this cafe of Amicia: For, all the reasons which you alleadg against her would not prove

prove her to be a Bastard, if those Arguments that are brought on her behalf were all laid aside.

In your Answer to my Defence of Amicia, p. 42 & 43. you again cavil with me, without any just cause, and say, that the case that I did there put, comes as near to the case of Geva, as an Apple to an Oyster, But whether it be so as you fay, let the Reader judge. In your Historical Antiquities, p. 136. ( which words of yours are also in the 10 & 11 pages of my Defence of Amicia) you have these words, viz. And howbeit many Earldomes have descended to the heires Males, and not to the heires general, yet in this case were no heires Male, but two Females, an Aunt legitimate, who had it, and a Sifter not legitimate, and shew me a precedent whereever the beires of an Aunt inherited before the heires of a Sister, both legally born and no heires-male left, unless in case of forfeiture by Treason, or some other great cause to hinder the same. From these words of yours, I did not offer to raise any cavil, by telling you, that though honours or lands may be given to any persons whatsoever, by

those who have power to dispose of the fame, that yet they cannot properly be. faid to descend to any but to the next heires, and therefore in point of defcent, it is impossible that any one that is further off, should be preferred before another that is nearer ; Neither. did I tell you, how you did name an Aunt legitimate, in stead of the Son of an Aunt legitimate that had it ; But I Supposing (as I think any other would have done from these words of yours ) that your meaning was, that Randle de Meschines must needs have more right to succeed in that Earldom of Chefter, than Geva had, because, the faid Randle did enjoy the same, and that you thought it to be very clear, that whenfoever there were no heirs-Male left. if the honour went to any of the Kindred, the King did alwayes prefer that person who was next of blood to it. except in case of Treason, or the like, and did thereupon defire me to thew you a precedent to the contrary if I fo could, and you instancing in the Earldome, and not in the Lands, I did thereupon shew you where one that was a Baron by Writ, dyed without heir Male, leaving leaving two Sisters only, and the Baronry came to the Husband of the younger Sister, and not to the Husband of the elder Sifter, it being the pleasure of the King to call Sir Hunt Bourcher, who had Marryed the younger Sifter, to the Parliament, and not to call Sir Thomas Nevil, who had Marryed the elder Sifter; And if this be not a like case to that of Geva and Earl Randle (if Geva was legitimate) I am still very much mistaken; And whereas you now demand of me, If Geva was legitimate, Why the Lands of Richard Earl of Chester did not come to her, whatever the Earldom did: Though I cannot give you the certain reason, because the thing was done so long fince, yet I can shew you several possibilities why they might not; For, either it might be the will and pleafure of the then King, that Randle de Meschines should have the Estate as well as Earldome, and that Geva should have recompence made her some other way, (as the Sisters of John Scot Earl of Chefter in the like case afterwards had) or perhaps she might be of the half-blood to Earl Richard, and

and Randle de Meschines be heir at Law before her, or perhaps the said Ear l Richard having a greater kindness for the said Earl Randle than he had for Geva, (there being sometimes great unkindnesses betwixt Brothers and Sisters) might give his Estate to the said Randle de Meschines.

Those Arguments of mine which you mention p. 44. and are pretended to be Answered by you, pag. 45, 46 & 47. remain yet in their greatest strength, and are not at all answered by you, nay, the one of them is fo farr from being answered, that it is not understood by you, unless you only pretend not to understand it, because, you perceive you cannot give an answer to it, and I rather think that to be the truth of the case, Because you have not recited my Argument as I did express it; For you recite it thus; Because Coke upon Littleton, fo. 21. b. tells us that these words in liberum Maritagium are words of Art, and so are necessarily required: and there you break off abruptly; Whereas I told you that the Deed which you alleadged to be made

to Geva would not at all concern Amicia, if Geva was a bastard, because it was no gift in Frank-marriage, as that gift to Amicia was; And for a proof thereof I told you, that my Lord Coke upon Littleton in the place abovefaid did tell you, that these words in liverum maritagium are such words of Art. and so necessarily required (in these kind of gifts) as they cannot be expressed by words equipollent, or amounting to asmuch; And he also there gave you the reason, which was, that these words in liberum Maritagium did create an Estate of Inheritance, against the general Rule of the Law, and therefore the Law required, that it should be legally pursued; And to explain this, he also faid, that if a man give Lands to another, with his Daughter, in connubio soluto ab omni servitio, &c. yet there passeth in this case but an Estate for life; For although those words be the same in fense, as the words in libera maritagio, be, yet being not the very same words, they do not create an Estate of Inheritance; But you contrary to all this, would not believe my Lord Coke, if he should have said that the words in libero conjugio did make but an Estate for life, (which he hath indeed by consequence said) But you will have the words liberum conjugium to create an Estate of Inheritance, as well as the words liberum maritagium (which no man before you ever said) Whereas no words that are equipollent, or amounting to as much can do it, it being impossible to make an Estate in Free-marriage, if there be wanting either the word liberum, or the word Maritagium.

Alfo, as the words in libero conjugio can make but an Estate for life, foit is also clear, that in your Deed of Earl Randle to Ceva, there was no more intended than an Estate for life, it running all along in the fingular number Et teneat bene O in pace. &c. ut melius O. liberius tenuit, And it is likely the Decd of Earl Hugh did run after the same manner, by that expression scenti Comes Hughes ei in libero conjugio dedit, But I believe the Baffets did afterwards enjoy the faid lands, though how, or by vertue of what Deed, I am notable to declare; For, in Monasticon Anglicamm

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num, Part I.p. 439, and in your Historical Antiquities, p. 113. (but misprinted 121.) I find Geffrey Ridell and Ralph Basset called the heires of the said Geva; Now if those persons were the heires of her body, and the aforesaid Deed a Gift in Frank-marriage, Why did not Earl Randle confirm or grant those lands to her heires, as well as to her, And if they were not the heirs of her body, she could not be a bastard, For, as my Lord Coke on Littleton, fol. 3. b. tells you, A Bastard can have no heir but of his own body.

And whereas I brought another Argument to prove that this Gift of Geva could not be a Gift in Frank marriage, Because my Lord Coke says, that one of the things incident to a Frankmarriage is, that the Donees shall hold freely of the Donour till the fourth degree be past, which cannot be in Geva's case, Because there was no Donees, but one Donee only, and the Estate could not continue until the Fourth degree was past, because it was onely for Geva's life; You tell me that my Lord Coke upon Littleton, fol. 21. b. citeth

teth Peter Saltmarch's Case, and Fitz-Herbert de natura brevium, fol. 172. that lands may be given by a Man to his Son in Free-marriage, and why not to his Daughter alone in Free-marriage? But I pray you, How can there be a Gift in Free-marriage, if there be no Marriage at all? and, How can there be a Marriage, if the Man or Woman be alone? But you misunderstand this place (as you do many others) For, my Lord Coke, if you observe him well, doth not there fay, that fuch a Gift can be made with a Man alone, or with a Woman alone, But there tells you, that a gift in free-marriage may be either to a Man with a woman, or as some have held, to a Woman with a Man, and for proof thereof, cites Peter Saltmarsh his case, and Fitz-Herbert; And this is no more than what I said in the 49 Page of my former Book, where I also shewed you how Bracton did therewith accord; But there is none of them that faith as you do, That land may be given in Frankmarriage to a Man without a Woman, or to a VVoman without a Man.

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In your 48 & 49 Pages, you would willingly perswade the Reader that

Earl

Earl Randle de Gernoniis Father to Earl Hugh Cyveliok was Marryed by Robert Earl of Gloucester unto Maude his Daughter, thereby to draw him to the part of Queen Maude his Sifter, about the very year 1129. before which time we find no mention in our antient Historians of Randle's acting against King Stephen, but in that very year we do, and then by Some of them Stiled Son-in-law to the Earl of Gloucester. But I pray you, VVhy is it not full as likely, that before that time, Randle de Gernoniis was Marryed to the Daughter of the faid Earl of Glourester, and thereby was the more eafily drawn to that party, to which he stood so near related, as that, that match should be made purposely to draw him to that party? And how could you hear much of that Earl Randle's actings against King Stephen, before the year 1139? feeing Gervalus a Beneditine Monke of Canterbury (who lived in the Reign of King John) tells us, in his Chronicles or Annalls, col. 1345. 1. 60. that it was in the year 1138, when Robert Earl of Gloncester did begin to quarrel with the faid King Stephen,

And whereas you yet feem unfatisfied that Earl Hugh was of fuch an age as probably to have had another Wife before Bertred, and do now fay, p. 49.if we recken by utmost possibilities, that Earl Hugh could not possibly be above fixteen or seventeen years older than Bertred; I do very much wonder thereat, feeing I have formerly from the Argument which you used to prove it to be otherwayes, made it manifest, that he might possibly be several years above double her age, and that fo clearly, that I am confident, no man besides your felf, will offer to deny the same; For I then told you that whether the Marriage of Robert Earl of Gloucester with Mabill Daughter and heir of Robert Fitz-Hamon was according to Selden in the year 1109. or according to Stow in the year 1110. the faid Mabill might have Mande her second Daughter in the year 1112, which Mande if she was Marryed to Earl Randle de Gernoniis in the year 1128, when the was fixteen years of age, might have her Son Hugh Cyvelick in the year 1129. which if true, the faid Earl Hugh was fifty

fifty two years old at his death, For he died in the year 1181, and if so, then he was four years above twice the age of Bertred, For the was but Twenty four years old when the faid Earl Hugh died, as appears, Rot, de Dominabus pueris, &c. in Scace, penes Remem, R. Sub Tit. Linc. Rot 1. And it is certain, that the faid Earl Hugh was Earl of Chefter about four years before his VVife Bertred was born, besides what age he was of, when his Father died, and his Daughter Amicia was Married in his life time, and none knows how many years before his And if the Marriage of the faid Robert Earl of Gloucester with the faid Mabill was in the year 1109. then he might possibly be Five years above double the age of his VVife Bertred; And this is the more likely to be true, Because, though Mr. selden be a later VVriter, than Mr. Stow is, yet Mr. Selden cites one that lived long before Mr. Stow, as will appear by the old English Rithmical Story, attributed to one Robert of Glocester, and recited in the 647. Page of Mr. Seldens Titles of Honour:

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In your Answer, pag. 50, 51, 52 04 53. you endeavor to weaken the Third and Fourth reasons which were brought as concurrent proof on the behalf of Amicia, by faying, that Hugh Cyveliok's Wife was a witness to her Husbands Deed, which a Wife cannot now be, she being not capable to be a Witness, either for or against her Husband, whereby you would infinuate a change of the Law in that particular from what it was formerly, and you also fay, that if Hugh Cyveliok had had a former Wife, Jure Raph Mainwaring would have called his Daughter after her, and not after the then Countess; And you there make nothing of Roger Mainwaring's calling Randle Earl of Chefter and Lincoln his Uncle in a Deed, nor of Henry de Audley's being a Witness to the Deeds of Randle Earl of Chefter and Lincoln, and of Robert de Ferrars, (which later you fay is far fetcht) nor of Raph Mainwarings and Roger Mainwarings being Witnesses to so many Deeds of those that were Earles of Chester in their times.

But

But to these things, I say, that the Law is still the same as it was formerly, in the particular by you here mentioned; For, both antiently and at this day also, I know nothing that hinders, but that the Wife may fubscribe as a Witness to a Deed which her Husband doth make, though the neither antiently could, nor yet can be a witness for or against her Husband, vet there is this use of it, that if the Wife furvive her Husband, and it come to be controverted amongst other parties, whether such a Deed was Sealed by him, or not, the in the time of her VVidowhood, may be a good VVitness for the proving of the fame.

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And as to the calling of Sir Raph Mainwarings Daughter by the name of Bertred after the present Countess, and not after the name of Hugh Cyvelioks: first VVise; That is no wonder at all, it being more ordinary to call Daughters after their Godmothers Names; than after the names of their own Grandmothers, and especially when the Godmothers are of great quality; Now the said Amicia's Daughter being called

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called Bertred (which is a very unufual name) it is more than probable, (according to what you expressed to me under your hand in April 1664.) that Bertred the Countess was Godmother to the said Bertred Mainwaring, And if so, it is very unlikely that Amicia was illegitimate; For VV wes are seldome Godmothers to their Husbands Bastards, or to the Children of such Bastards.

Also, Sir Raph Mainwaring and Sir Roger Mainwaring and Henry de Andley the Sou-in-law of the said Sir Raph Mainwaring being so often VVitnesses to the Deeds of the Earls of Chefter, and to the Deeds of their very near Relations, doth certainly shew there was then a very great and constant intimacy betwixt the said Families.

And though you pretend that Sir Raph Mainwaring was very conversant with the Earle, because he was Judge, and therefore came so often to be a VVitness, and say, that we may find the like number of Charters or more, to which Philip Orreby Judge of Chester was witness in like nature; I conceive that you are deceived therein, although E 2 Philip

Philip Orreby was Judge of Chefter perhaps longer than Sir Raph Mainmaring was ; For I do believe that I can make it to appear by what Deeds I have, and what Deeds I have feen of others, that Sir Raph Mainwaring and his Son Sir Roger Mainwaring were witnesses to more Deeds of Hugh Cyvelioks and Randle Blundevil than any other persons of any one Family were; Add hereunto (which I have in my former Book ment oned) that Sir Roger Mainwarine in a Deed of his own calls Randle Earl of Chefter and Lincoln his Uncle, and how I did there observe, that though the VVriters of Histories, did fometimes give to Baftards, the name of Cofen, Brother, Uncle, Son, and Daughter. I did believe you could hardly find any one that you could certainly prove to be a Bastard, or the Son of a Bastard, that did presume in a Deed to call fo great a person as the Earl of Chefter was, his Brother or Uncle, unless he came to be a very great Person himself; And this is so true, that in the 53 Page you are forced to confess that such Precedents are scant, but yet you think you have found one, VIZ.

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viz. Randle de Estbury, or Astbury, who in a Deed mentioned in the Addenda of your Historical Antiquities is called, the Earl of Chester's Nephew, and is put the last of all the witnesses, and was certainly but an ordinary Gentleman, nor Knight nor Lord. But this Precedent will fail you, for two Reasons, First, Because you do as good as confess that you cannot prove him to be a Baffard, (and he might perhaps be a younger Brother, or Son of a younger Brother, and fo not necessarily a Knight or a Lord) And secondly, Because he doth not call himself the Earles Nephew, but is called fo by others, and that is fo far from contradicting, that it doth confirm what I faid in my former Book; Also if you observe it, there were no VVitnesses to the faid Deed, besides the faid Randle de Asthury, except David de Malpas (whom I conceive was Baron of Malpas ) and William his Son.

And whereas you say, you should be glad to find out the Extraction of the said Randle de Astbury, if he were not a Bastard. Though it be perhaps impossible now to tell you his Extraction certainly, because he lived so long since,

and

and we only find him mentioned as a witness in one Ded, Yet I doubt not but to fatisfie the Reader, that he and his Father and Mother might all be Legitimate, For, (not to fay, that he might be a Son of some other Daughter of the faid Hugh Cyveliok by his former VVife) he might possibly be the Son of Roger, Son of Hugh Cyveliok; And I know no great reason why the faid Roger should by you be suspected to be a bastard, For you only find him (as appears by your Historical Antiquities, p. 134. and in my First Book, p. 1.) mentioned as a Witness to a Deed of his Brother Randle's, to the Abbey of Saint VVerburge: So that you conceive him to be a bastard, Because neither he, nor any iffue-Male of his, fucceeded in the Earldome of Chester after the death of Randle Blundevil, VVhereas the faid Roger might be lawful, and be Father to this Randle de Astbury, and yet both he and the faid Randle de Aftbury might dye before the faid Randle de Blundevil, For he lived very long, and was Earl of Chester above Fifty years; Alfoit is very strange, if Amicia was a Bastard, and the Father or Mother

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Mother of the faid Randle de Aftbury was also a Bastard, that those Bastards could find none to call their Children after, but the then Countefs, and the then Earl, For the Daughter of Amicia was called Bertred after Randle Blundevill's Mother, and Randle de Astbury was of the same Name with the faid Earl; But admitting that the faid Roger was a Bastard, Why might not Randle de Astbury however be his Son? and then, What necessity (of what you say in your Addenda) of either finding out another Base Son, or another Base Daughter of the said Hugh Cyvelick; But you have been very willing to charge him with many Bastards both Sons and Daughters, although I find no great Reason to sufpect that he had any at all unless Paganus de Milton, and it is possible in that case, you having neither the Deed, nor a Copy of the Deed by you, that you might take Hugh Cyveliok for Hugh Lupus, as well as in another Deed (as will anon appear) you did take Randle Blundevil for Randle de Gernoniis.

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I am still of the same opinion that I was formerly of, viz. That Richard Bacuns Mother was not a Base Daughter of Hugh Gyveliok, nor any Daughter of his at all, but that she was daughter to Randle Meschines, and Sister to Randle de Gernoniis; And I think those reasons which I have giyen in my former Book do fully prove the same. And albeit you tell me in the 54, 55, and 56 pages of your latter Book, that truly I am deceived in it, yet I do not doubt but to fatisfy all the world, that it is you (and not I) that are deceived therein; Aud whereas you fay, it is true (as Iobserve) that there was no such Archbishop of York called Will. nor Bishop of Chester, whose Christian name began with R. both living at one time, either in the time of Randle de Blundevill or Randle de Gernoniis. I answer, I did make no such observation at all, but the contrary, For, I shewed you that in the time of Randle de Gernoniis; William, Sisters Son to King Stephen, was Archbishop of York, for a time, viz, about 1142 or 1143. (though he was afterwards oufted of it again

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again till 1152, or 1153.) and Roger Clinton was Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, (which then was the same with the Bishop of chefter) from the year 1128, until the year 1148 or 1149. And I then also told you, that there was no William, Archbilhop of Tork at anytimeduring the life of Randle Blundevill, nor any man Bishop of Chester, whose Christian name began with R. except Richard Peche, who died about the time that Hugh Cyveliok died, viz. in 1182 (though some fay, in 1181. and some in 1183.) at which time Randle Blundevill could not be of age to Seal any kind of Deed, because Bertred the faid Randle's Mother, was then but about Twenty five years old; and this Argument you perceive to be fo ftrong against you in this point, that you have no way to avoid it, but by giving a strange answer to it, which is, that you do conceive the Roll from whence the Deed in Monasticon (Par. 2. Pa. 267.) is written, is mistaken in Will, and R. and miswrit therein from the Original Chart it felf; Which liberty if a Man might take, he might answer any thing in the world; and your reafon for

for so faying is, Because Richard Bacun in his faid Deed doth say, that he had procured the warranty of Randle Earl of Chester bis Uncle, for the ratifying of that Grant; and the very next Deed following in the Roll, and transcribed in the Monasticon, is the Deed of Randle Earl of Chester, with Confirmation and Warranty accordingly, whereunto Roger Lacy, Constable of Cheshire is a witness. who only lived in the time of Randle Blundevill, and no other Earl of Chester, as I may see cleerly proved among the Barons of Halton in your Book, nor is there any other Deed of Confirmation and Warranty to be found by any Earl, save this; wherefore (you fay) certainly it must be Randle Blundevil whom Richard Bacun calleth Uncle in his own Deed of the Foundation of the said Priory. And you also say, the Bishop of Chefter (being also Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry at that time) he was not then subject to the jurisdiction of York but Canterbury; and you also say, That there was no Archbishop of York called Will. nor Bishop of Chester, whose Christian name began with R. both living at one time, either in the time of Randle Blun(73)

Blundevill or Randle de Gernoniis, that you can find.

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To which I answer, That it is not to be doubted, but that Richard Bacun did obtain the Warranty and Confirmation of that Randle Earl of Chefter. who was his Uncle, and then living; neither is it to be doubted, but that the Deed, to which Roger Constable of Cheshire was a witness, was the Deed of Randle Blundevil, I having proved it to be so, in the 56 page of my former Book, because Roger Constable of Cheshire was living in the time of no other Randle but Randle Blundevil, fo that you did not need to fend me to fee that clearly proved among the Barons of Halton in your Book ; but the Deed of Confirmation of that Earl who was Uncle of Richard Bacun, is not in the Monasticon, but was probably lost, as many other antient Deeds were: and that Deed of Randle Blnndevill, which is there, is but another Deed of Confirmation, according to the mode of those times, when, it was usual to obtain such, from several Princes, several Generations one after anoanother; and for proof hereof, I did desire you to read Monasticon Anglicanum, Par. 2 Pa. 24, and 25. where you might find King Henry the I. reciting and confirming what had been given to the Priory of Huntendune, and pa. 27. how King Henry the III. did the like, and yet there was a greater space betwixt King Henry the I. and King Henry the III. than there was betwixt Randle de Gernoniis and Randle de Blundevil; and very many others of the like nature, may be found, by those who will take the pains to make search in the several Monasticons.

Also, it is very strange, that you should fancy that the Roll, where the said Deed in Monasticon was written, should be mistaken both in Will. and R. especially since the word Will. was the sirst word in the said Deed; neither is it a badge of any mistake in the said Deed, because the Archbishop of Tork, is named in it, though the Bishop of Chester (being at that time the same with the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) was not then subject to the Jurisdiction of Tork, but Canterbury; For, the

the Archbishop of Tork was not named upon that account, but, because some of the places mentioned in the faid Deed, were within the Province and Diocesse of Tork, as particularly Rofington was, it being within the Westriding of Torkshire; but I suppose your principal reason why you suspect the Roll was mistaken is, because you say, there was no such Archbishop of York, called Will. nor Bishop of Chester, whose Christian name began with R. both living at one time, either in the time of Randle Blundevill or Randle de Gernoniis, that you can find. Which faying of yours feems very strange to me, but I believe all your doubt is about the Will. that was Archbishop of York, because Dr. Heylin (a late Writer) in his Catalogue of Bishops doth not mention the faid Williams being cholen Archbishop immediately upon the death of Thurstan; for I am consident that you are well satisfied that Roger Clinton was Bishop of Chester (as appears by the Third Part of the Monasticon, page 218. as also by Bishop Godwin, Jsaackson, Doctor Heylin, Simeon Dunelmenfis, Matt. Paris, and many other other antient Authors) rrom about 1128, until about the year 1148, or 1149, which fell out to be in the time of Randle de Gernoniis, for he was Earl, (as appears in your Book) from about the year 1128, till about the year 1153. And I doubt not but to make it as clear, that a William was Archbishop of Tork, in the time of the said Randle de Gernoniis and Roger Clinton, and though the said William was afterwards ousted, yet whilst he enjoyed that Archbishoprick, he was, and would in Deeds, and otherways, be owned as Archbishop of Tork;

Now that a William was Archbishop of Tork, in the time of the said Earl and the said Bishop, I have already shewed you in my former Book, out of Isaackson's Chronology, and shall thus make it further to appear;

If you look into Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of the Bishops of England, printed at London 1615, page 581. in the life of Heny Murdack, Archbishop of Tork, you may find him saying thus.

King

T142. King Stephen had a kinsman named William, (that was Son unto Emma his Sifter, by Earl Herbert) a Man no less noble in Mind and Vertue, then Stock and Lineage. He being Treasurer of Tork. was now elected unto the Archbishoprick, and having obtained Confecration alfo. fent to Rome for his Pall. His speed there was not fo good as he looked for; by some Adversaries many exceptions were taken against him, whereby it came to pass, not only his Suit was put off, and stayed for that time, but also Processawarded to admonish him to come thither in Person to answer the accusations laid against him. At his coming to Rome, he found his Adversaries many and Mighty. And among the rest it is remembred. that St. Bernard, then living, was very earnest against him. Eugenius the Pope, had been brought up in the Abbey of Clarenal under St. Bernard, together with Henry Murdac, whom Williams adversaries had set up to be a Suiter for his Archbishoprick. The Pope being thus carried away with the perfwafion.

Swasion of his old Acquaintance, and Some shew of matter, was content to deprive William, and to place Henry Murdae in his room, whom he caused to be Confecrated presently, and fent him home into England with his Pall. King stephen hearing this Newes, was much grieved with the difgrace of his Nephew, which all Men judged undeferved. Therefore He stood upon Termes with the new Arch-bishop, and required him to Swear unto Him fealty in some extraordinary manner; and when he denyed, eafily took occasion of displeasure against him. The Townsmen of Tork that leved William exceedingly for his Gentleness and Vertuous behaviour amongst them; hearing how the King was affected; refused to receive Murdae into their City. For this refistance he suspended them: which notwithstanding, Eustach the King's Son, commanded Service to be faid as at all other times was accustomed. By means hereof, as also by reason that the King's Officers were very terrible and heavy enemies, unto all that had laboured for the Deprivation of William: Seditions and Tumults

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mults were daily raised in the City, amongst which a certain Archdeacon, a Friend of the Archbishop, Two or three years was flain. these stirs continued, till at last, the Kings wrath (by means) being appeafed, Tork-men were content to receive their Archbishop peaceably. He governed very austerely the space of ten years, dyed octob. 14. 1153. at sherborne, and was buryed in his Cathedral Church. And when Eistop Godwin hath thus faid, he presently after tells you, how the faid William (there called Saint William) after the death of Henry Murdac was again restored to the said Archbishoprick.

Also, if you look in John Frompton's Chronicon, cot. 1028. 1.63. in the life of King Stephen, you may find him thus saying;

Dicto antem Thurstino Eboracensis Archiepiscopo Monasterii Fontanensis aliorumque octo fundatore, ut dictum est, decedente (and he dyed, sayes the said Brompton, col. 1028. 1.25. in the year 1140. with which Bishop Gedwin doth Faccord)

accord ) Singuli Ecclesia Eboracensis Canonici, beatum Willielmum ejusdem Ecclesie Thesaurarium preferunt, tam pro bonestate morum, quam excellentia meritorum. Ifte namque Willielmus ex Spellabili prosapia Regis Stephani orins, praclaris natalium titulis fuerat insignitus; erat enim filius potentissimi viri Comitis Herberti. Qui quamvis post decessim ditti Archiepiscopi Thurstani, ad sedem Eboracensem electus fuerat ; invidia tamen O impetuosus amor dominandi quemdam ejufdem Ecclefix Archilevitam adeo in regionem diffimilitudinis traxerant, ut inter eligentes discidium excitavit, ipsum Willielmum a famori parte electum impediens licet de ejus electione clerus & populus acclamafsent landum praconia, suspenditur igitur caufa ad Apostolica sedis examen prowocata.

See also the said Brompton to the same purpose, Col. 1041. L. 10.

Also Roger Hoveden who lived in the time of King Henry the Second, King Richard the First, and King John; in the First Part of his Annalls, Printed

t Frankfort 1601. Page 490. 1.51. writes thus of the Restitution of the faid William, eodem anno obiit Henricus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, quo defuncto, Willielmus Archiepiscopus, quem Papa Eugenius suspenderat, Romam profectus est, & invenit gratiam apud Ana-Stafium Papam, & redditus eft ei Archiepiscopatus Eboracensis. And I think it is not to be doubted, though I have not yet found the place, but that the faid Hoveden doth speak of his being chosen after the death of Thurstan, because Isaak son in his Chronology, cites Hoveden for what he there fayes, but he names not the Pages.

Also, Thomas Stubbs (a Dominican) writing of the Archbishops of Tork, col. 1721. l. 15. thus sayes,

Vicessimus nonus successit in Archiepiscopatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ Henricus Murdak Cisterciensis ordinis Monachus ac professor probatissimus, vir magnæ santitatis & abstinentiæ laudabilis.
Defuncto namque, ut præmittitur, Thurstino Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, convocatisque ad electionem pontificis Canonicis
ecclesiæ Eboracensis, Willielmus ejus-

dem Ecclesia Thesaurarius & Canonicus exigentibus suis meritis a Majori & saniore parte in Archiepiscopum est electus. Erat enim strennissimi Comitis Herberti filius ex Emma sorore Regis Anglorum Stephani progenitus. Vir quidem genere nobilis sed morum excellentia & vita mundissima incomparabiliter insignis. Interea vero Osbertus archidiaconus Eboracensis invidia stimulo agitatus, facta inter eligentes diffentione, confirmationem ipsus electi licet ab omnibus dignus haberetur pertinaciter impedivit: suspenso igitur negotio partibusque coram Romano pontifice super hujus electionis discussione personaliter vocatis, idem Willielmus persequentibus illum adverfariis suis & injuste accusantibus consecrationis gratiam minime potuit optimere. Lite ergo in curia Romana sub Papa Innocentio fecundo, Celestino fecundo, & Lucio scundo per annos quinque & amplius del ito processu currente, nichil inventum est quod ejus consecrationem deberct elongare. Verum summus Pastor Eugen'us Cisterciensis ordinis Monachus anno Dominica incarnationis M. C. xlvi. in Papam consecratus electionem dicti Willielmi non ratione personalis inhababilitatis,

habilitatis, ymmo pro libito sue voluntatis cassavit, &c. And there he also after speaks of the Restauration of the said William to the said Archbishoprick: so that it seems by this Author that the said William held the said Archbishoprick upon his first election, till after the deaths of Pope Innocent the Secoad, Pope Celestine the Second, and Pope Lucius the Second, viz. till about the year 1146. but was then ousted by Pope Eugenius, and restored again by Pope Anastassus, after the death of Henry Murdae about the year 1153.

Also Gulielmus Neubricensis, who lived in the Raignes of King Richard the First, and King John, page 368.1. 10.

thus writes,

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Venerabili Trustino defuncto, Eboracensis Ecclesia Pontificatum suscepit Gulielmus ejusdem Ecclesia Thesaurarius, vir
plane secundum carnem nobilis, & morum ingenua lenitate amabilis. Qui
cum ad sedem Apostolicam respensales
idoneos propetendo solemniter pallio direxisset: emergentibus adversariis &
multa contra eum proponentibus negatum
est. Jususque ad eandem sedem in propria persona accedere & pro semetisso

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tanquam ætatem habens allegare: causis tamen ingravescentibus atque invalescentibus adversariis, piæ quoque memoriæ Papa Eugenio contra eum, sive per veritatem, sive per surreptionem implacabiliter irritato depositus est, &c.

So also Gervalius a Benedictine Monk of Carterbury, who lived in the time of King John, Col. 1357. l. 52. in the year 1142, thus sayes,

Rex autem Stephanus dedit Archicpiscopatum Eboracensis ecclesia cuidem
clerico nomine VVillielmo, quibusdam
clericis ejusdem Ecclesia consentientibus,
aliis vero ut audebant reclamantibus, unde factum est ut cum Theodbaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus sic sacta non
consentiret electioni, Henricus frater
Regis VVintoniensis episcopus apostolica
sedis legatus, prasumptuosa semper magnanimitate famam colligens, pradictum
electum apud VVintoniam consecraret.
Abiit itaque novus sacratus Eboracum,
& vix duobus annis sedit in pace.

Also, Radulsus de Diceto, who was Dean of Pauls, and lived in the time of King King John, Col. 508.1. 11. thus writes, Thurstino Eboracensi archiepiscopo suc cessit Willielmus.

Also, Matt. Paris (who lived in the time of King Henry the Third) in his Greater History put out by Doctor Watts, Page 78. sayes thus in the year 1139. Tunc defunds Turstano Eboracenst Archiepiscopo, Willielmus ejusdem Ecclesiae

Thefaurarius successit.

Alfo, simeon Dunelmensis, a Benedictine Monk, who lived in the Raign of King stephen, and in the time of the said William, Col. 79. l. 29. speaking of the Archbishops of Tork, thus sayes; Post Oswaldum istission ordine successerunt, Aldulfus, Vulstanus, Eestricus, Kinsius, Aldredus, Thomas, Girardus, Thomas, Turstinus, Willielmus, Hearicus, Rogerus; There placing the aforesaid William before Henry Murdac.

And John Prior of Hagulstald, in his Continuation of the History of the said Simeon, Col. 268. l. 41. thus writes; Anno M.C. xlii. Post mortem Turstini archiepiscopi clerici Eboracenfes secundum desideria cordis sui varia

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vaga sententia circumacti fuerant toto anno super electione facienda. Elegerant autem persuadente legato Henrico Wintoniæ nepotem Regis Stephani
Henricum de Coilli. Qui quia præsnit
abbatiæ Kadomensi, noluit dominus apostolicus eum præsici archiepiscopatui nist
renunciaret priori honori. Mense Januario iterum de electione tractantes, in personam Willielmi Thesaurarii plurimi consenserunt. And presently after, 1.60.
further sayes, Perductum itaque electum
ad Lincolniam rex libenter suscepit, &
in terris & possessionabus Eboracensibus
consirmavit.

Now though a leffer number of Authors might have ferved to prove that there was a William Archbishop of Tork, living in the time both of Randle de Gernoniis and Roger Clinton, yet I thought fit to cite all these, to let the world see that it was nothing else, which made you that you could not find it to be so, but because you would not find it to be so, but because you would not find it to be so, but because you would not find it to be so, but because you would not find it to be so, but because you would not find it to be so, but because you would not find it to be so, but because you would not find it you would have made fearch, you might easily have found

what is here faid.

But besides what is here alleadged, if you had but observed those Deeds of Richard Bacun and Randle Blundevil which are mentioned Monasticon Anglicanum, Part 2. Page 267 & 268. and the Deeds of Randle de Gernoniis that are in your own Historical Antiquities, you would eafily have known that the faid Richard Bacun did live in the time of the faid Randle de Gernoniis; For to the said Deed of Richard Bacun, Hugo Wac, Willielmus Constabularius de Donington, Thurstanus Banastre, Willielmus Bacoun, Robertus Bacoun, Willielmus de Colevile, Richardus Pincerna, Willielmus de Binulle, Galfridus Dispenfarius, Willielmus Capellanus, and fobannes Capellanus are Witnesses: and to the faid Deed of Randle Blundevil, Rogerus Constabularius Cestria, Rogerus de Montealto Seneschallus Cestria, Simon de Kyma, Thomas Dispensarius, Simon de Thochet, Willielmus de Hardresbulle, Hugo de Nevilla, Henricus de Longo Campo, Philippus de Horreby, Sampson Prior de Trentham, and Thomas Clericus are witneffes.

Now as it would appear probable (if

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(if there were nothing else in the case) that this Deed of Richard Bacun was not made in the time of Randle Blundevil, because there is not any one person a witness to the said Deed of Richard Bacun, who was a witnels to the said Deed of Randle Blundevil (or to any other Deed of his. that I can find ) So it certainly appears from your Historical Antiquities, that those who were witnesses to Richard Bacuns faid Deed, did live in the time of Earl Randle de Gernoniis, and not in the time of Randle Blundevil; For, as you may there see, Page 126 0 127. in the Deed made by Henry Duke of Normandy, to the faid Randle de Gernoniis, the aforesaid Hugh Wac, and Richard Pincerna were then witnesses on the behalf of the faid Randle, also Page 128, to one Deed of the faid Randle, the faid William Colevile was a witness, and to another of the faid Randle's Deeds the faid Willielmus Capellanus and Richardus Pincerna were witnesses, and Page 160 0 161. to another Deed of the faid Randle de Gernoniis the faid Thurstan Banaster, Richard Pincerna, and William the Chaplain were witnesses; and

and foalfo the faid Richard Pincerna Thir ftanus Banafter, and Willielmus Capellanus were witnesses to another Deed of the said Randle de Gernoniis concerning Neither-Whitley, mentioned by you, Page 387. Though you there run upon a mistake, and say that Randle Blundevil made that Deed, which cannot be, Because those witnesses (as appears before) did live in the time of Randle de Gernoniis, and not in the time of the faid Randle Blundevil, they being no witnesses at any time to any Deed of Randle Blundevils that I can find, although he was Earl of Chefter above fifty years, so that nothing can possibly be more clear than this is.

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As to the word aspersed which you fault me for using, I do not apprehend that it signifies a malitious seeking to throw birt in anothers face unjustly 5. For, to asperse, properly signifies but to besprinkle, with which, malice will feldom rest satisfied: and I will do you this right, to declare that I believe it is not malice, but a desire to divulge your supposed new Discovery, which occasioned you thus to do.

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That way of Arguing which you use in the 57 Page is very odd; For, Because you suppose the Respondent will deny your Minor, you would have him give over answering, and turn Opponent, and so endeavour to difprove what you ought to prove; But what you fay, Page 58. that you have proved Amitia to be a Baltard, unlels bugb Cybeliok bad a former Mife, and also Page 59. that if he had no other Wife but Bertred, and she no Daughter to Bertred, then certainly if she be a Daughter and so called, she must needs be a Bastard, is undoubtedly true; For Amicia must needs be a bastard, unless she was legitimate.

You grant in your 59 Page, That mp probing Amicia to be talled a baughter to long fince, the ought to be prefumed legitimate, till the contrary appear; But why therefore do not you prefume her to to be? And though you pretend there are many strong reasons to the contrary, yet I have shewed the invalidity of them all, and therefore what I have formerly said

faid stands good, and is to the point, viz. That the proving that she was not by Bertred, does not prove that she was a bastard, but onely proves that she was either a bastard, or by a former wife.

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And as to what you alleadg, Page 60. that, though the Law allowes not this in pleadings, what hinders but Bastardy may be proved by History or Argumentation after the parties death? As, suppose in a Register-Book you find such a Bastard Christened one hundred yeares ago, may not you justly call that person a bastard, whom you find so Registred? I do anfwer and fay, That even in that cafe, though it be good proof, that there was then a Bastard of that name, yet if in any Deed (or otherwayes ) in the fame Age you find one of that name, you are not to be too positive that that Man was that Bastard, because, there might be more persons than one of the fame Name, whose Fathers might also be of the same Name each with other; and though these mistakes might easily be cleared by the party concerned whilft he was alive, yet it may be difficult

ficult sometimes to do it after he is dead: And that is (as I suppose) one reason why the Law gives no liberty to prove Bastardy against any Man after his death. But the cases of the children of John of Gaunt by Katherine. Swynford are not like to this case. For you certainly know that they were born Bastards, but afterwards legitimated; and I think, after their legitimation, they might have had the same remedies against any that did call them Bastards, that persons lawfully born might have.

Whereas I tell you out of Sir Henry spelman, that incases of honor and prosit (by the customes of Normandy) appellatione filiorum non comprehenduntur bafardi; You answer and say; that in other cases, and formerly by the appellation of sons, bastards were comprehended, and that this makes directly against me; But how this makes against me, in what cases soever bastards were formerly comprehended by the appellation of Sons and Daughters, if they were not comprehended in cases of bonour and prasit, I cannot tell, seeing that Amicia is called

led a Daughter, and that in a case of so great profit, that you will needs have it to be her whole Portion.

And whereas you mention the next words of Spelman, viz. that the ancient Northern people admitted bastards to succeed in their inheritance; and that William the Conquerour was not ashamed of that title, who began his Letter to Alan Earl of Little-Britaine as he did many others, Ego Willielmus cognomento Bastardus.

I do not know how you can apply those expressions to the case in hand, and if you could, they would make against you; For, when Bastard children were so much esteemed, as to be admitted to succeed in the inheritance. then certainly illegitimate Daughters would have great Portions as well as those that were legitimate, And why should not Amicia, if the was a Bastard, be so called, as well as Pagamus was? (who, as you fay, was the Son of High Cyveliok ) Or why should Hugh Cyveliok himself, be more ashamed to call her fo, than William the Conqueror was to stile himself a Bastard ? .... What

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What else you have said, Page 61, 62 & 63. hath been said over and over again by you, and hath formerly received a full Answer.

In the 64 & 65 Pages you recite and endeavour to fortifie an Argument of mine, which I brought not as a good Argument, but compared it to one of yours, to shew the invalidity thereof; neither did I at all doubt, but that William, Randle and Wydo (Sons of the aforesaid Roger Mainwaring) were all legitimate, it being good proof thereof, that in fo antient a Record, they are all three called sons of the faid Roger; But Ishewed you by the Rule by which you went viz. that none should be believed lawfull, unless we could directly and in terminis prove their Fathers to be married, that the faid William, Randle, and Wide, and most perfons that lived in the First and Second Centuries might be concluded to be Bastards; And though you tell me, that There argue well (which must needs be, because this Argument of mine is so like to yours) and that you would fay to 2019

my Minor that Roger had a Wife though we yet know not who she was; and that this appears certainly, because the Lands descended from heir to heir, and that you tell me, how you would frame your affirmative part more formally; Yet in ftead of trying whether you could in terminis prove ( which by this your Rule you ought to do ) whether William who was the eldest of the three Sops of the faid Roger, was his lawful Son or but a bastard, you beg what you should prove, and take it for granted that he was the Son and Heir, and fay, that if the Son and Heir of Roger succeeded by descent in his Fathers Inheritance, then Roger had a Wife; whereas if William was the Son and Heir of Roger, the faid Roger his Father must needs have a Wife, whetherfoever William succeeded in the Inheritance by descent, or was disinherited; For, none but a lawful Son, can be a Son and Heir; and the fame question you beg, when you pretend (p.65.) to prove the sequel of your Major. For in that Argument you fay, Ergo, if the Son and Peir of Roger succeeded by descent in the Inheritance

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tance, ther Roger must needs babe a Wife, and nothing appears bere of a I it al serilement; But besides your begging of the Question, the only reason which you bring to prove the faid William did succeed by descent ( and by consequence that his Father was Marryed) is , because , nothing apprare here of a special fettlement; Lut this is not a proving certainly and in terminis that the faid Roger had a Wife, for though no special settlement dorh appear yet, if we must be tyed to this your way of proving, William might possibly be a Bastard, and might come in by special settlement, though the faid tettlement be now loft; So that this retorted Argument is but weakly answered.

What you say, Page 66, 67, 68 & 69, is but what you have formerly said and I have abundantly answered; and your alleadging that Amicia to sing of the first bentir, is therefore more worthy than those of the strong, is sufficiently consuted by those words of mine, which you repeat in your 70 Page; For though it be true that if a Man

Man die, and leave only Daughters, which are by feveral Wives, that those of the first venter, shall be more worthy than those of the second, yet if a Brother die (as in this case) and have no iffue of his own, nor any Brother, but only leave Sifters, which were by two feveral venters, if that Brother was of the second venter, (as Randle Blundevile was) then those Sisters that were of the second venter, shall be preferred before those of the first. Because, those were of the whole blood to their Brother, whereas the Sifters by the first venter were but of the half blood.

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What you alleadge, Page 71, 72 & 73, doth not prove that Earl Hugh's Grant, was a Release of the Service of one Knights-Fee; But that, and all the rest in those Pages (as you truly say) being nothing to the argument in hand, I will not trouble my self or the Reader therewith: Only let me observe, that there is no probability at all, but that Sir Raph Mainwaring had a farr greater Portion with his VVise than those Services; For, the having

the service of three Knights-Fees, doing the service of two Knights-fees, was in effect the having the service but of one Knights-Fee, and as I told you in my former Book, was not a Portion fuitable to the Estate of a very mean Gentieman; fo that it was certainly a free-gift of the faid Earl, after the faid Marriage was past and consummated; And that Grant to him is fo far from proving, that he had no greater Portion, that you your felf, when you are told, 'tis like he had a great deal more, do confess (Page 71.) it may be so, What then? And if it be fo, that he had a greater Portion, and it doth not appear how much that Portion was, you can raise no Argument from thence, fo that this your fecond Reason is very invalid,

Also it is very probable that the Lordship of Henbury in Cheshire might be part of the Portion of the said Amicia; For as appears in your Historical Antiquities, Page 107. Henbury was one of those Towns which Hugh Lupus held in Demaine, And I do not find that any Mainwaring was possessed thereof, before Sir Raph Mainwaring, who

who was Husband to the faid Amicia neither have I ever yet seen or heard of any Record or Deed which shews how Henbury first came to the Mainwarings.

DECAD And whereas you tell me, (Page 74, when you speak of your Third and last Reason ) that I might have done well to have answered your first Reason better; I shall appeale to the Reader, whether your Third Reason, which you your felf confess not to be evincing, be not as strong as your first, and upon the matter the same with it; as also, whether I have not given both your first and third Reafons a very full answer, in the 62, 63, 66 & 67 Pages of my former Book, and therefore it will not be taken off without better reason given by you, then your bare denying it to be a substantial Answer; So that all your three Reasons against Amicia, are of no weight at all.

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Also, what I have there said will give full satisfaction to the Question you did please to ask, viz. Whether I find

find that the Historians bave left out any of Earl Hughes legitimate Children, except this whom I suppose to be legitimate? For, those Historians only taking upon them to Record who were heires to Randle Blundevil; If Hugh Cyveliok had had never so many Daughters by his former Wise, they would never have taken notice of any of them.

And whereas you observe, Page 75. How I say, that Mr. Cambden hath mentioned Amicia, though not among the Coheires, yet without the brand of a Bastard, and do reply, that I know well that he is but of late standing, and not an Historian contemporary with Amicia, and that you and I do also mention ber. It is very strange that you should thus say, whereas the only reafon why I did speak of Mr. Cambden, was, because, you had said, That he was one of those Historians who had taken no notice of the faid Amicia, and I onely named him to shew you your mistake therein.

The rest which you say in the 75 to 76 Pages, is but what you have formerly

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formerly faid, and hath received an answer before.

In your 77, 78 6 79 Pages, you are also so far from answering that Argument of mine, which is contained between the 69 0 75 Pages of my former Book, that that which you pretend to be an Answer (if rightly understood ) is the very Argument which I there frame against you; For, though what you fay, Page 78. be true, that sometimes the Justice is put after the Constable and Dapifer, and sometimes before the Constable and Dapifer, yet all the Juflices of Chefter, except Sir Ralph Mainwaring, are named in the Charts of the Earles of Chester, after the Constable and Dapifer, and are also named after the Constable and Dapifer, when they were witnesses to any Deeds; But it is only in the time of the faid Sir Ralph Mainwaring, when the Justice is named before the Constable and Dapifer , in the Charts of the faid Earles, and it is only he who is named as a witness, and that frequently before the Censtable and Dapifer,

Dapifer, as I have proved by feveral Deeds, which I then mentioned both out of your former Book, and elsewhere, and doth also further appear by another Deed in your Historical Antiquities, Page 205. where the faid Sir Ralph Mainwaring is also named as a Witness before the then Dapifer , Ralph de Montealto ; And this respect was shewed to the said Sir Ralph Mainmaring, although, as you may fee in your said Book, Page 160 & 161. that the Constable by Charter was to go next the Earl, and had his office in Fee, and that the Steward was to go next after the Constable, and had his Office also in Fee; But when Philip Orreby, who did succeed the said Sir Ralph Mainwaring, was Justice of Chefter, then, according to the old usual way, as appeares in the 162. Page of your First Book, the Constable and Dapifer were again named in the Earles Chart before the Ju-Rice of Chester, and also as you may fee at the bottom of the 144 Page, and the top of the 145 Page of your faid Book, the faid Constable was named

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named as a Witness before Phi'ip de Orreby, though then Justice of Chefier; And I believe you cannot shew any Chart of any of the Earles of Chefter, in which any other Justice of Chester had the like preeminence; neither do I think you can shew any Deeds in which any other Justice is named as a Witness before the Constable or Dapifer, and if any fuch fingle precedent can perchance be found, I am confident it will prove to be a Deed wherein the faid Philip de Orreby is named as a Witness, and was occa. fioned by the simplicity of the Clark, who did write the faid Deed, who finding Sir Ralph Mainwaring Justice of Chester ( the immediate Predecesfor of the faid Philip de Orreby ) to be written as a Witness before the Constable and Dapifer, might thereupon think that Philip de Orreby should also be so placed; But it appeares by the aforesaid proofes, and by several other Deeds, that it was not allowed to the faid Philip; And although you truly object, in the 78 Page, How great the uncertainty of Subscription of Witneffes

Witnesses was in old Deeds, sometimes putting one before another in one Deed, and after putting the same person after the other in another Deed; yet, that will be nothing in this case; for, you your felf confess, Page 160 & 161. of your Historical Antiquities; notwithstanding the uncertainty of subscription of Witnesses, that after certain Offices were annexed to certain Barons, that the matter was without controversie (astothe Constable and Dapifer ) and that the Constable of Cheshire in Fee carried it clear by his Office, which was annexed to his Barony, and that the Steward was the next after him; And therefore this preeminence being thus given to the faid Sir Ralph, and to him onely; and he alfo, fo farr as I have found, being ever named before all the other Barons of Cheskire, after he had Married the faid Amicia, as well when he had parted with his Office of Justice, as before; I think I may ftill fay, it will be difficult to give a Reason thereof, if he did not Marry a lawful daughter of the aforefaid Farl.

I have now done, but cannot concurr with you, that the Honour of our Grandmother (the Mother of Amicia) is a trivial thing; However, I am glad to Read, That you take your leave for ever of this Controversie, because I hope all occasion of future Contest will be thereby taken away betwixt You and Him who is,

## SIR,

Baddeley, August 5 1673.

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s II F, Your Affectionate Kinsman and very humble Servans

Thomas Mainwaring.

FINIS.